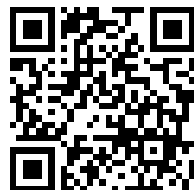

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THE NURSE IN GREEK LIFE

By

SISTER MARY ROSARIA, M. A.

OF THE

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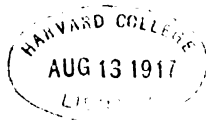
A DISSERTATION

*Submitted to the Catholic Sisters College of the Catholic
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of the Requirements for the Degree
Doctor of Philosophy*

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PREFACE

The frequent mention of the nurse in connection with the child and the family and the numerous descriptions of her in Greek art have suggested the investigation of Greek classical literature and the inscriptions with the purpose of ascertaining and presenting the position and characteristics of the nurse as a contribution to the private life of the Greeks. The subject here dealt with is viewed solely from the social standpoint, though the writer recognizes its value from the literary and psychological sides.

The scope of this study practically includes the whole range of Greek literature from Homer to Plutarch. A correct notion of the part played in Greek life by this character could not have been obtained from a narrower field. Certain phases of the nurse's life are discussed by Becker in his "Charikles" (Excursus to Scene I), and references to different aspects of the subject are found in Hermann's "Lehrbuch" (3rd. ed., pt. IV). Friedländer's "Sitten-geschichte Roms" (5th. ed., I, p. 468ff.) was of special value in throwing light on some of the *μυθοί* of Chapter IV. Wherever the works of other modern authors dealing with Greek domestic life have been used, due credit will be given them.

SISTER MARY ROSARIA.

Feast of St. Joseph,
March 19, 1917.

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CHAPTER I

TERMS USED FOR NURSE

Of the various terms employed in the literature to designate the nurse we shall speak only of four: *τροφός*, *τιθήνη*, *μαῖα*, and *τίτθη*. The first three are found in Homer¹ and the Hymns² with no apparent difference of meaning. *τίτθη* is of later origin and is used of a wet-nurse by Plato,³ Demosthenes,⁴ Aristotle,⁵ Antiphanes,⁶ Plutarch,⁷ Soranus.⁸ The ancient lexicographers generally bear out this meaning of the word. While Herodianus (I, 456, l. 2, Lentz), Hesychius and Photius give *τροφός* as a synonym for *τίτθη*, Suidas defines it more at length: *τίτθαι, οὕτω καλοῦνται αἱ τοῖς τιτθίοις καὶ τῷ γάλακτι τρέφονται τὰ παιδία*. Eustathius⁹ calls wet-nurses *τίτθαι*, and those who have the care of children after weaning *τιθηνοί* and *τροφοί*: *τίτθαι . . . αἱ τοὺς τιτθοὺς παρέχουσαι . . . τιθηνοί δέ, ἐπὶ δὲ καὶ τροφοί . . . αἱ τὸν ἄλλον φασί, πόνον μετὰ τὸν ἀπογαλακτισμὸν ἀνα εἰχόμεναι*. Pollux defines *τίτθαι* as *αἱ θηλάζουσαι* (II, 163) and again (III, 50) he says: *τὴν δὲ θηλάζουσαν Εὐπολὶς τίτθην θηλάστριαν ὠνόμασε*. Between *τιθήνη* and *τίτθη* he makes this distinction: *ἡ δὲ τροφὸς τῆς κόρης, τιθήνη· καὶ ἡ γάλα παρέχουσα τίτθη* (III, 41). However, a writer of the second century A. D. plainly referring to a wet-nurse, uses *τιθήνη*,

*κούρος ἵπ' ἐκ μαζοῖο τιθήνης
χείλεσιν αὖ ἐρύει λαρὸν γάλαγος.*¹⁰

The Etymologicum Magnum refers *τιθήνη* to *τιτθόν*: *τιθήνας, τροφούς παρὰ τὸ τιτθόν*. According to Brugmann¹¹ *τίτθη*, *τι-*

¹ Od. ii, 361; xix, 15, 21, 489; ii, 349, 372; xvii, 499; II. vi, 389; xxii, 503.

² Hom. Hymn to Aphrod., 114; Dem., 103, 147, 227, 291.

³ Republic, 373C.

⁴ H. A., vii, 12.

⁵ Alc., i, Lyc., 16.

⁶ Com. on II, vi, p. 513.

⁷ Alc., i, Lyc., 16.

⁸ Athen., vi, 9.

⁹ Gynaecia, i, 87, 88.

¹⁰ Oppian, Halieutica. II, 404-5.

¹¹ Brugmann, Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik, Strassburg, 1889, ii, S. 92.

θήνη, *τίθος* are formed by reduplication beside *θήλη*, "mother's breast."

As to the word *τροφός*, Herodianus (I, 225, l. 11, Lentz) refers it to *τρέφω*. Hesychius¹² contrasts it with *θρέμμα*, "nursling." Pollux (l. c.) seems to distinguish *τροφός* and *μαῖα* and to take the latter as meaning more strictly, "Ea quae lactat," as Stephanus remarks in his Thesaurus.

Various meanings were attached to the word *μαῖα*. Besides its use as "mid-wife," it was employed as a form of address in speaking to nurses:

*εἰ δ' ἄγε δὴ μοι, μαῖα φίλη.*¹³

*μαῖα, θεῶν μὲν δῶρα καὶ ἀχρύνενοι περ ἀνάγκη.*¹⁴

*μαῖα, πάλιν μου κρύψαν κεφαλάν.*¹⁵

The signification was even extended to embrace the true mother, as attested by Euripides, *Alcestis* 393, where the child says of its mother: *μαῖα δὴ κάτω βέβακεν*.

To distinguish accurately and sharply between the different words for nurse is not our present purpose. Doubtless the differences between them were not broad and clear even to the Greeks themselves. *τροφός* seems to be employed as the generic term, while *τίθθ* is generally used for "wet-nurse" and *τροφός* and *τιθήνη* for "nursery-maid."

¹² Lexicon, s. v. *τροφοί*.

¹³ Od., xxii, 171. Cf. xxiii, 35, 81, 11; xix, 482, 500, etc.

¹⁴ Homeric Hymn Dem., 147.

¹⁵ Euripides, *Hipp.*, 243.

CHAPTER II

SOCIAL STATUS OF THE NURSE

From Homer to Herodotus

The Homeric poems deal wholly with the life of the upper classes. Hence we do not get from them a complete picture of how all classes lived. Even for the aristocrat therein described, the habits of life were simple. Mothers nursed their own children: thus Hecuba speaks to her son, Hector:

Ἔκτορ, τέκνον ἐμόν, τάδε τ' αἶδε καὶ μ' ἐλέησον
αὐτήν, εἴ ποτέ τοι λαθικηδέα μαζὸν ἐπέσχον.¹⁶

Still, there is one instance which points to a different practice. Odysseus in addressing his old nurse Eurycleia says:

μαῖα, τίη μ' ἐθελείς ὀλέσαι; σὺ δέ μ' ἔτρεφες αὐτή
τῷ σῷ ἐπὶ μαζῷ.¹⁷

The expression ἐπὶ μαζῷ here employed is used in another place of the relation between mother and child:

πάσις δὲ οἱ ἦν ἐπὶ μαζῷ
νήπιος, ὃς πού νῦν γε μετ' ἀνδρῶν ἵζει ἀριθμῷ¹⁸

¹⁶ Il., xxii, 82. Cf. also xvi, 203 and Od., xi, 448.

¹⁷ Od., xix, 482.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, xi, 448.

NOTE. — Seymour (Life in the Homeric Age, N. Y., 1914, p. 139), objects to this on the ground that "nothing indicates that she (Eurycleia) ever bore a child and could have served as a wet-nurse." The words *ἐνὶ δ' οὐ ποτ' ἔμικτο* (Od. I, 433) merely show that Eurycleia was not the concubine of Laertes, and not that she was childless. Dolius, the slave, had a wife and family in the household of Laertes (Od. xxiv, 389). Moreover, if the apportioning of awards mentioned in Od., xxi, 214 (*ἄξομαι ἀμφοτέροισι δόλχους*) were a matter of custom, would not the faithful Eurycleia have served as a very special prize? Cf. Buchholz, *Die Hom. Realien*, Leipzig, 1881, vol. II, Pt. 2, p. 24.

However this may be, nurses were employed as the attendants of the children whom they amused and brought up as long as they remained in the house of the parents.

Whatever function she performed, the Homeric nurse was a slave, either a captive:

τὴν ποτ' Ἀπείρηθεν νέες ἤγαγον ἀμφιέλισσαι.¹⁹

or purchased as an ordinary slave:

τὴν ποτε Λαέρτης πρίατο κτεάτεσσιν εἰοῖσι,
πρωθήβην ἔτ' εἰούσαν, εἰκοσάβοια δ' ἔδωκεν.²⁰

The Phrygian nurse of Hector's son may be taken as a model of the Greek nurse of an infant. Nothing is said as to her social standing, but we infer from her occupation²¹ that she was a slave.

The Phoenician woman, nurse to Eumaeus, gives us an instance of the nurse of an older child. She had been captured and sold as a slave to a master, whose hard bonds she feared:

ἀλλὰ μ' ἀνῆρπαξαν Τάφιοι λήιστορες ἄνδρες
ἀργόθεν ἐρχονέην, πέρασαν δέ τε δεῦρ' ἀγαγόντες
τοῦδ' ἀνδρὸς πρὸς δώμαθ' ὁ δ' ἄξιον ὄνον ἔδωκε.
· · · · ·
μή τις ποτὶ δῶμα γέροντι
ἐλθὼν ἐξείπη, ὁ δ' οἰσάμενος καταδήσῃ
δεσμῷ ἐν ἀγγαλίῳ, ὑμῖν δ' ἐπιφράσσειτ' ὄλεθρον.²²

In striking contrast to this unfaithful slave is Eurycleia, the nurse of the grown son, whose rank is higher than that of the ordinary slave, for she had general supervision over the fifty female slaves of the household and assisted the mistress in teaching them:

πεντήκοντά τοί εἰσιν ἐνὶ μεγάροισι γυναῖκες
δμωαί, τὰς μὲν τ' ἔργα διδάξαμεν ἐργάζεσθαι,
εἰρία τε ξαίνειν καὶ δουλοσύνην ἀνέχεσθαι.²³

It is she, too, who fills the important office of *ταμίη*.²⁴ Indeed,

¹⁹ Od., vii, 9.

²¹ Il., 389.

²² *Ibid.*, xxii, 421.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, i, 430. Cf. also xv, 428.

²³ Od., xv, 427-444.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, ii, 345.

she is treated as a member of the family, is the friend and confidante of the mistress who shows her great deference.²⁵

The nurse of the grown daughter is seen in Eurymedusa who had been a captive, the prize of King Alcinous.²⁶

Penelope's nurse, Eurynome, has much the same office as Eurycleia.²⁷ Like her, she is a trusted slave devoted to her mistress.

In the Homeric Hymn to Demeter, the duties which the goddess takes upon herself when she assumes the form of a nurse are identical with those performed by Eurycleia in the Odyssey:

καί κεν παῖδα νεογόν ἐν ἀγκοῖνῃσιν ἔχουσα
καλὰ τιθνοίμην, καὶ δώματα τηρήσαιμι,
καὶ κε λέχος στορέσαιμι μυχῶ θαλάμων εὐπήκτων
δεσπόσυνον, καὶ κ' ἔργα διδασκῆσαιμι γυναικάς.²⁸

Still, she is not the slave of the people for whom she works, and is promised such compensation (*θρεπτήρια*) for her services as would make her an object of envy to the women of the household.²⁹

Aphrodite learned Anchises' language from her Trojan nurse:

γλῶσσαν δ' ὑμετέρην καὶ ἡμετέρην σάφα οἶδα·
Τροῦς γὰρ μεγάρῳ με τροφὸς τρέφεν, ἥ δὲ διαπρὸ
σμικρὴν παῖδ' ἀνίταλλε φίλης παρὰ μητρὸς ἐλοῦσα.³⁰

The nurse is probably a slave, for wherever slave-trading was known it must have been usual to employ a foreign nurse.

The historians naturally have but little occasion to speak of domestic life. Herodotus, however, introduces into his narrative not only political history, but also matters of purely social interest. Hence we are not surprised to find a nurse in his sixth book.³¹ This nurse is presumably a slave, for she receives the commands of the parents to show the child to no one.

In Tragedy.

The nurses of Tragedy are old women who have spent years in the service of their masters (*παλαιὸν οἴκων κτῆμα*).³² Even after

²⁵ *Ibid.*, xxiii, 24.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, xx, 1-4.

²⁹ *Hom.*, 166ff.

³¹ Herodotus, vi, 61.

²⁶ *Od.*, vii, 10.

²⁸ *Hom.*, Hymn to Dem., 141ff.

³⁰ *Hom.*, Hymn to Aphrod., 113ff.

³² Euripides, *Medea*, 49.

the child they had nursed had grown up, they were still retained in the household.³³ There can be no doubt that like the nurses of Homer they were slaves.³⁴ Medea's nurse is addressed as *κτῆμα δεσποίνης*³⁵ and when speaking to the *παιδαγωγός*, she calls herself *σίνδουλος*.³⁶ Then, too, the fall of the mistress involved that of the nurse, a calamity hinted at in Hyppolytus:

οὐ δὴθ' ἐκούσά γ', ἐν δὲ σοὶ λελείψομαι,³⁷

and in Medea:

χρηστοῖσι δούλοις ξυμφορὰ τὰ δεσποτῶν
κακῶς πίνοντα, καὶ φρενῶν ἀνθάπτεται.³⁸

Hecuba, bewailing her fate, foresees that she who had once been Queen of Troy will be forced to become the nurse of children.³⁹

In Athens

But it was not only captives and slaves who nursed children. In the fourth century we find at Athens free women performing the office of nurse. Euxitelos in pleading against Eubolides answers the reproach they attach to his mother of having been a nurse. He says that his father had gone to the war, leaving his mother with two small children to support. Hence she was obliged to take Cleinias to nurse: *αὐτὴ δ' οὐ σ' ἐν ἀπορίαις, ἡναγκάσθη τὸν Κλεινίαν τὸν τοῦ Κλειδίκου τιτθεῦσαι*.⁴⁰ He admits that it is a mean employment, but affirms that he can give the names of free-born women, who, like his mother, were compelled by stress of poverty to become nurses: *καὶ γὰρ νῦν ἀστὰς γυναικας πολλὰς εὐρήσετε τιτθενούσας*.⁴¹

In another Oration of Demosthenes, In Evergum, there is an instance of an old and poor nurse living with the man she had nursed as a child. The father of this person, in recompense for her care, had given her her freedom: *καὶ μετ' αὐτῆς τίτθῃ τις ἐμοὶ γενομένη πρεσβυτέρα, ἀνθρωπος εὔνους καὶ πιστή, καὶ*

³³ Aeschylus, Cho., 750; Eur., Hipp., 698.

³⁴ Eur., Hipp., 649.; And., 812.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, Med., 49.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, Med., 65: *μή, πρὸς γενείου, κρύπτει σίνδουλον, σέθεν.*

³⁷ Hipp., 324.

³⁸ Troades, 195ff.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, lvii, 35.

³⁸ Med., 54.

⁴⁰ Dem., lvii, 42.

ἀφειμένη ἐλευτέρα ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ ἐμοῦ.⁴² She married and on the death of her husband returned to her nursling, who received her all the more willingly inasmuch as he was about to leave home and was pleased to have such a sure companion for his wife. When Euvergus and his accomplices break into the house, they find the old woman seated at table with the mistress and children. The nurse, trying to conceal a vase in her dress, is seen by the robbers who fall upon her and beat her until she gives it up. Some days afterwards she dies from injuries received, but not before having been cared for by a doctor summoned especially for her.

No instance is given by Plato or Aristotle of the manumission of a nurse. The former, on the contrary, speaks of the δούλεια ἡθῆ τροφῶν.⁴³

The nurse of New Comedy is usually a slave; still she sometimes receives her freedom, as in the case of Moschio's nurse in the *Samia* of Menander:

τοῦ δὲ Μοσχίωνος ἦν
τίτθῃ τις αὕτη πρεσβυτέρα, γεγονυῖ ἐμὴ
θεράπειν, ἐλευτέρα δὲ νῦν.⁴⁴

"Though emancipated, she yet remained in the service of her former master," her status being similar to that of the metic.⁴⁵ We also have inscriptional evidence that women belonging to the metic class were employed as nurses who being free-born must have received wages: Ἀπολλοδώρου ἰσοτέλου θυγάτηρ Μέλιττα τίτθῃ.⁴⁶

Foreign Nurses

Though the Athenians had a natural repugnance to the severity of the Spartan discipline, still the aversion was not so intense but that some of the Lacedemonian customs found ready acceptance in Athens. Aristophanes, *Birds*, 1281,⁴⁷ makes it clear that the Athenians were "Spartan-mad." For this reason, no doubt,

⁴² *Ibid.*, xlvii, 35ff.

⁴³ Plato, *Laws*, 790A.

⁴⁴ *Samia*, 21ff.

⁴⁵ Capps, *Four Plays of Menander*, Boston, 1910, pp. 15, 239.

⁴⁶ C. I. A., ii, 2729.

⁴⁷ ἑλακωνομάδων ἀπαντες ἄνθρωποι τότε.

Spartan women whose robust health was famed throughout Greece,⁴⁸ were sought to inaugurate that regimen peculiar to the Spartan nurse. Hence Plutarch: *Διὸ καὶ τῶν ἔξωθεν ἐνιοι τοῖς τέκνοις Λακωνικὰς ἐωνοῦντο τιτθάς*,⁴⁹ and he also records that Amycla, the nurse of Alcibiades was a Spartan: *Ἀλκιβιάδου δὲ καὶ τίτθην, γένος Λάκαιναν, Ἀμύκλαν ὄνομα*.⁵⁰ The virtue of these Spartan women and the esteem in which they were generally held are attested to by a monument erected by Diogeitus to the nurse of his children. On it we find the following inscription:

*Ἐνθάδε γῇ κατέχευ τίτθην παιδίων Διογεΐτου ἐκ
Πελοποννήσου τὴν δὲ δικαιοσύνην.
Μαλίχα Κυθηρία.*⁵¹

But it was not only from Sparta that the Athenians obtained nurses for their children. We have an inscription from the monument of the Corinthian nurse *Φάνιον*.⁵² And there is an epigram of Callimachus on a Phrygian nurse whose master cared for her during her life-time, and when she was dead set up her statue, that posterity might see how the old woman received in full the thanks for her nurture.⁵³ Thrace, too, furnished its share of types of nurses:

*καὶ μ' ἄ Θεχαρίδα Θρᾷσσα τροφὸς ἄ μακαρίτις
ἀγχίθυρος ναίεισα, κατεύξατο καὶ λιτάνεσε
τὰν πομπὰν θάσασθαι.*⁵⁴

Such was the honor in which they were held that one Cleita was considered worthy of a monument, as we learn from an epigram of Theocritus:

*ὁ μίκκος τόδ' ἔτευξε τῇ Θραϊσσῇ,
Μήδειος τὸ μνᾶμ' ἐπὶ τῇ ὁδῷ κηπείγραψε Κλείτας.*⁵⁵

The fact that the Greeks employed foreign nurses may also be inferred from the essay, *De Libèris Educandis*, attributed to

⁴⁸ Aristoph., *Lys.* 80-1. Cf. also Xen., *Rep. Lac.*, I, 4.

⁴⁹ *Lyc.*, 16.

⁵¹ *C. I. A.*, ii., 3111.

⁵³ Epigram liv.

⁵⁵ Theocritus, Epigram xx.

⁵⁰ *Alc.*, 1.

⁵² *C. I. A.*, ii, 3097.

⁵⁴ Theocritus, *Ibid.*, ii, 70.

Plutarch, in which the author loudly inveighs against the practice of entrusting children to any nurse whatsoever. He insists on her being selected with the utmost care, laying down as a fundamental qualification that she be of the Greek race: ἀλλὰ τὰς γε τίθας καὶ τὰς τροφούς, οὐ τὰς τυχούσας, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐνι μάλιστα σπουδαίας, δοκιμαστέον ἐστί. πρῶτον μὲν τοῖς ἡθεσιν Ἑλληνίδας.⁵⁶ According to the same author these women received wages for their work: αἱ τίτθαι δὲ καὶ αἱ τροφοὶ τὴν εὐνοίαν ὑποβολιμαίαν καὶ παρέγγραπτον ἐχουσιν, ἅτε μισθοῦ φιλοῦσαι.⁵⁷

Such was the social status of this Greek nurse, a picture necessarily composite since the details are drawn from so many sources; but from what has been said, it may be concluded that the nurse, though usually a slave, was sometimes manumitted, that a preference was frequently shown at Athens for the foreign-bred nurse and that on occasion free women resorted to nursing as a means of gaining a livelihood.

⁵⁶ Pseudo-Plutarch, *De Liberis Educandis*, § 5.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

CHAPTER III

THE NURSE AND THE FAMILY

The helpless condition of infancy has always called for special offices to tide the child over the first years of life. These offices are performed either by mother or nurse. Among the Greeks, the nurse was a familiar figure in the household; and although our knowledge of Greek domestic life must necessarily be limited from the fact that the women's apartments are so persistently closed against us, nevertheless from side-lights furnished by our threefold source of information — the literature, the art and the inscriptions — we cannot help being impressed by the important place which the nurse held in the family.

Let us now turn to a more exact consideration of the various duties of the nurse in relation to the children, to the grown daughter, the grown son and lastly to the household. In this way we shall be led to a clearer conception of the general characteristics which marked the nurse's dealings with her charge.

DUTIES TO THE CHILD

Bathing

Among the principal duties incumbent on the nurse of an infant was the giving of the bath. That it was given immediately after birth, we infer from Lycophron's *Alexandra*, 309, where a child dies *πρὶν ἐκ λοχείας γυνὴα χυτλῶσαι δρόσῳ*, and also from Plautus, *Amphitryo*, 1103: "Postquam peperit pueros lavere iussit nos." The heroine nymphs of Libya, acting as nurses, bathed Athena when she leaped in gleaming armor from the head of Zeus.⁵⁸ Some nurses preferred pure water;⁵⁹ others, like the Spartans, bathed the child in wine as a test of its strength,

⁵⁸ Apollonius Rhodius, iv, 1309-10.

⁵⁹ Callimachus, *Jove*, 15. Cf. also Soranus, I, xxviii, 81. For the practice of "dipping" the child, see Newman, "Politics of Aristotle," Oxford, 1902, vol. 3, p. 481ff.

they being of the opinion that the weakly ones would faint, but the more vigorous would acquire firmness and hardness after a bath of this kind.⁶⁰ On a vase portraying the life of Achilles one of the scenes shows the nurse giving the infant son of Thetis his first bath.⁶¹ The vessel in which this bath is given is mentioned by Pindar:

ἐπεὶ γυν καθαρὸν λιβητος ἔξελε Κλωθώ.⁶²

Swaddling Clothes

Attic nurses wrapped the infant in swaddling clothes (σπάργανα).⁶³ As far as we can gather from the grave-reliefs these seem to have been long narrow strips of cloth bound like bandages around the child's body, which they completely covered from head to foot, leaving nothing but the face uncovered.⁶⁴ White,⁶⁵ purple,⁶⁶ and saffron⁶⁷ are mentioned as colors of these bands. The practice of swaddling children is alluded to by Hesiod,⁶⁸ and frequent reference is made to it by the Tragedians.⁶⁹ The Theban children given over to the state were swaddled.⁷⁰ The nurse in the *Amphitryo* complained that Hercules was so large she could not swathe him.⁷¹ How long the children were kept thus bound we do not know; but we can hardly suppose that it was until they had reached the age of two years, as Plato advises.⁷² The Spartan nurses dispensed with these bands, allowing the children to grow up unrestrained in limb and form.⁷³ Exposed children were sometimes recognized by the swaddling clothes.⁷⁴

⁶⁰ Plutarch, *Lyc.*, 26.

⁶¹ Baumeister, *Denkmäler*. Leipzig, 1885, vol. I, p. 4.

⁶² *Olymp.* I, 40-1.

⁶³ Hom. H. to Mer., 151, 237, 306; Apollod., III., 10. 2; Plaut. *Truc.* 13, *Amph.* 52.

⁶⁴ Conze, *Die Attischen Grabreliefs*. Berlin 1893-, 405, 302, 276, Taf. lxiv, etc.

⁶⁵ Hom. H. to Apollo, 121, 122.

⁶⁶ Pind., *Pyth.*, IV., 203: *σπαργάνοις ἐν πορφύρεοις*.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, *Nem.*, I., 58.

⁶⁸ Theog., 485.

⁶⁹ Cf. Aesch., *Coeph.*, 529, 544; Eur., *Ion*, 32, 1351, 1598.

⁷⁰ Aelian, *Var. Hist.*, II, 7.

⁷¹ Plaut., *Amphit.*, 1104.

⁷² Laws, 789E. In the third century A. D., the child was swaddled from forty to sixty days. Cf. Soranus, *Gynaecia*, ed. Rose, for this and other details of later usage.

⁷³ Plut., *Op. Cit.*

⁷⁴ Eurip., *Ion*, 1420ff.

Food

The child was suckled either by mother⁷⁵ or nurse.⁷⁶ Naturally the practice of employing wet-nurses prevailed chiefly among well-to-do mothers.⁷⁷ The author of the *De Liberis Educandis* counsels mothers to nurse their own children, and dilates on the advantages accruing therefrom; nevertheless he permits the employment of wet-nurses wherever the mothers cannot perform the duty themselves.⁷⁸ Antiphanes considered the Scythians the wisest of men because they fed their children on mare's and cow's milk, and did not entrust them to nurses as did the Greeks.⁷⁹ In the *Menaechmi* of Plautus distinction is made between "*mater quae mammam dabat*" and "*mater quae pepererat*,"⁸⁰ and in the *Adelphi* of Terence the services of a nurse are secured for a courtesan.⁸¹ We have ample evidence from Demosthenes that this employment was resorted to by poor women as a means of livelihood during the hard times which followed the Peloponnesian War.⁸² We read besides that nurses were allowed to nurse but one child at a time.⁸³ Plato refers to definite laws regarding the nurture of children,⁸⁴ and speaks of the time when they were fed with milk: *ἐκ νέων παίδων ἔτι ἐν γάλαξιν τρεφόμενοι*.⁸⁵ In the community of wives and children, he would have the mothers, from a feeling of humanity, assisted in the nurture of the children by wet-nurses: *καὶ ἄλλας γάλα ἐχούσας ἐκπορίζοντες*.⁸⁶ Aristotle associates infantile maladies with the physical condition of the nurse: *εἴωθε δὲ τὰ παιδία τὰ πλείστα σπασμὸς ἐπιλαμβάνειν καὶ μᾶλλον τὰ εὐτραφέστρα καὶ γάλακτι χρώμενα πλείονα ἢ παχυτέρῳ καὶ τίτθαις εὐσάρκοις*,⁸⁷ and *φύει δὲ πρῶτον τοὺς προσθίους, καὶ τὰ μὲν τοὺς ἄνωθεν πρότερον, τὰ δὲ τοὺς κάτωθεν. πάντα δὲ θάπτον φύουσιν, ὅσων αἱ τίτθαι θερμότερον ἔχουσι τὸ γάλα*.⁸⁸ He objects to the use of

⁷⁵ Il., xxii, 83; xvi, 203; Od., xi, 448; Soph., Ajax, 849; Lysis, De Caed. Erat., 9.

⁷⁶ Od., xix, 482; Dem., lvii, 42; Callim., Dem., 90, Ep. 54; Men., Sam., 32.

⁷⁷ Eur., Hipp., 698, Cf. also Aul. Gel., 12, 5.

⁷⁸ Pseudo-Plut., De. Lib. Ed., § 5.

⁷⁹ Athen., vi, 9.

⁸⁰ Adelphi, 979.

⁸¹ Geoponica, v, 13, 4.

⁸² Laws, 887D.

⁸³ Hist. An., vii, 12.

⁸⁴ Menech., 19-21.

⁸⁵ Dem., Op. Cū.

⁸⁶ Crito, 50D.

⁸⁷ Rep., 460D.

⁸⁸ Hist. An., vii, 10.

wine for young children,⁸⁹ and deems it unsuitable for the nurses as well: διὰ τοῖς παιδίοις οὐ συμφέρουσιν οἱ οἶνοι, οὐδὲ ταῖς τίτθαις.⁹⁰ Dion Chrysostom speaks of its use: ὥσπερ ὑπὸ τίτθης γάλακτι καὶ οἴνῳ καὶ σιτίοις,⁹¹ but Hippocrates says: ἀμείνων εἶναι τοῖς παιδίοισιν τὸν οἶνον ὡς ὑδαρέστατον διδόναι.⁹² After being weaned,⁹³ children were fed on milk,⁹⁴ and honey.⁹⁵ According to Athenaeus, young children thrive well on the juice of figs.⁹⁶ They were also fed on morsels: "αἱ τὰ παιδιά ψωμί-ζουσι τροφοί."⁹⁷ The practice of first chewing the food before giving it to the child seems to have been usual, for we have several allusions to it. Democrates likens the orators to nurses αἱ τὸ ψώμισμα καταπίνουσαι, τῷ σιάλῳ τὰ παιδιά παραλείφουσι,⁹⁸ and Sextus Empiricus has a similar statement: εἰκότως ταῖς τίτθαις, αἱ μικρόν τοῦ ψωμίσματος τοῖς παιδίοις διδοῦσαι τὸ ὅλον καταπίνουσι.⁹⁹ Nor did it escape the ridicule of Aristophanes who says:

καθ' ὥσπερ αἱ τίτθαι γε σιτίζεις κακῶς
μασώμενος γὰρ τῷ μὲν ὀλίγον ἐντίθης
αὐτὸς δ' ἐκείνον τριπλάσιον κατέσπακας.¹⁰⁰

Athenaeus tells the absurd story of a man who had his nurse chew his food for him all his life: Σάγαριν τὸν Μαριανδυνὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ τρυφῆς σιτέισθε μὲν μέχρι γήρως ἐκ τοῦ τῆς τίτθης στόματος, ἵνα μὴ μασώμενος πονήσειεν.¹⁰¹

The Child in the Nurse's Arms

In the beautiful idyllic scene of Iliad, vi, 389 ff., where Hector bids farewell to Andromache and his darling son, it is to the fam-

⁸⁹ Pol., vii, 17.

⁹¹ Orat., 4, 155R.

⁹³ Athen., vi, 51.

⁹⁴ Athen., xiii, 85. Cf. Arist., Pol., vii, 17.

⁹⁵ Pindar, Olymp., vi, 45; Schol. Aristoph., Thesm., 506; Apoll., Rhod., iv, 1136; Callim., Jove, 40.

⁹⁶ Athen., iii, 15.

⁹⁷ Cf. also Aristophanes, Lysistrata, 18-19.

⁹⁸ Aristotle, Rhet., iii, 4.

⁹⁹ Adv. Math., ii, 42. Cf. also Theophr., Char., 20.

¹⁰⁰ Aristoph., Knights, 716. Cf. also Plut., Rom., 2.

¹⁰¹ Athen., xii, 40.

⁹⁰ De Somno., iii.

⁹² De Aere, Aquis, Locis., I, 542.

iliar arms of the nurse that the child turns when frightened by the glancing helm:

ἀψ δ' ὁ παῖς πρὸς κόλπον εὐζώνοιο τιθήνης
ἐκλίνθη ἰάχων.¹⁰²

In those arms he had been carried,¹⁰³ and when tired out from his childish play there he had slept on a soft cushion satisfied with every comfort:

αὐτὰρ ὅθ' ὕπνος ἔλοι, παύσαιτό τε νηπιαχέων,
εὖδεσκέ' ἐν λέκτροισιν, ἐν ἀγκαλίδεσσι τιθήνης,
εὐνῇ ἐνι μαλακῇ, θαλέων ἐμπλησάμενος κῆρ.¹⁰⁴

In the *Odyssey*, too, the faithful Eurycleia is spoken of as carrying Odysseus and laying him in the arms of his grandsire, that the latter might choose for him a name.¹⁰⁵ The author of the Homeric Hymn to Demeter puts these words into the mouth of the goddess-nurse:

καί κεν παῖδα νεογνὸν ἐν ἀγκοίνῃσιν ἔχουσα
καλὰ τιθηνόιμην.¹⁰⁶

The nurse in Herodotus carried the child each day to the temple of Helen.¹⁰⁷ Iphigenia speaking of Orestes says that she left him at home a young child in the arms of his nurse:

ἔλιπον ἀγκάλαισι νεαρὸν τροφού.¹⁰⁸

At the festival of the Amphidromia, it was the nurse who carried the child around the hearth;¹⁰⁹ and in the Nurse-festival (*τιθηνίδια*) at Sparta, the nurses carried the male children to the temple of Artemis.¹¹⁰ We know that nurses walked the floor with fretful children in order to soothe them. A good instance of this is given in Menander's *Samia*, 26-30 (Capps), where an old nurse fondles a child to her heart's content, kissing it and calling it soft names, walking around with it until it is quieted. "The homeopathic cure of morbid 'enthusiasm' by means of music was, it may be

¹⁰² Il., vi, 467.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, vi, 389, 400.

¹⁰⁵ Od., xix, 401.

¹⁰⁷ Herod., vi, 61.

¹⁰⁹ Eurip., *Electra*, 1125ff.

¹⁰⁴ Il., xxii, 503ff.

¹⁰⁶ Hom. H. to Dem., 141.

¹⁰⁸ Eur., *Iph. in Taur.*, 835.

¹¹⁰ Athen., iv, 16.

incidentally observed, known to Plato. In a passage of the *Laws*,¹¹¹ where he is laying down the rules for the management of infants, his advice is that infants should be kept in perpetual motion, and live as if they were always tossing at sea. He proceeds to compare the principle on which religious ecstasy is cured by a strain of impassioned music, with the method of nurses, who lull their babes to sleep not by silence but by singing, not by holding them quiet, but by rocking them in their arms . . . An external agitation (*κίνησις*) is employed to calm and counteract an internal. But Plato recognized the principle only as it applied to music and to the useful art of nursing."

This perpetual motion used by the nurse is referred to in the *Timaeus*,¹¹² and Aristotle thinks "it is of advantage to have all the movements made (of the bodies of infants) that it is possible to have made in the case of creatures so young."¹¹³ Plato lays down regulations for the nurses to carry the children into the fields, to the temples, and on visits to their acquaintances until they are able to stand alone. He would have them carried until the end of the third year, lest their limbs should be distorted by standing on them too soon: *καὶ δὴ καὶ τὰς τροφούς ἀναγκάζωμεν νόμῳ ζημιούντες τὰ παιδία ἢ πρὸς ἀγροὺς ἢ πρὸς ἱερὰ ἢ πρὸς οἰκείους αἰεὶ πη φέρειν, μέχρι περ ἂν ἱκανῶς ἰστασθαι δυνατὰ γίγνηται, καὶ τότε διευλαβονμένας, ἐτι νέων ὄντων μὴ πη βία ἐπερειδομένων στρέφεται τὰ κῶλα ἐπιπονεῖν φερούσας, ἕως ἂν τριέτες ἀποτελεσθῇ τὸ γενόμενον*;¹¹⁴ This is doubtless the reason why there is no mention made of a contrivance to keep the children's limbs straight like the "serperastra"¹¹⁵ in use among the Romans.¹¹⁶ The Greeks were careful to develop the body and to have it well-shapen. In the Pseudo-Plutarchian Essay, *De Liberis Educandis*, the writer thinks it necessary for the members of children to be shapen aright as soon as they are born: *ὥσπερ γὰρ τὰ μέλη τοῦ σώματος εὐθὺς ἀπὸ γενέσεως πλάττειν τῶν τέκνων ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστι*.¹¹⁷ In the *De Virtute*, the author tells us that this is the work of the nurses: *αἱ τίτθαι ταῖς χερσὶ τὸ σῶμα πλάττουσι*.¹¹⁸ Plato, speaking of the in-

¹¹¹ *Laws*, 789E.

¹¹³ *Pol.*, vii, 17.

¹¹⁵ Varro, *Ling. Lat.*, ix, 5.

¹¹⁷ § 5.

¹¹² Plato, *Timaeus*, 52D.

¹¹⁴ *Laws*, 789E.

¹¹⁶ Cf. also Aristotle, *Pol.*, vii, 17.

¹¹⁸ *Plut.*, *De Virtute*, § 2.

fluence of stories on the minds of children, says that we must persuade the nurses and the mothers to form the souls of their children by these stories *πολὺ μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ σώματα ταῖς χερσὶν*.¹¹⁹ This practice continued down to the days of Galen as is shown from the following: *τὰ κῶλα διαπλάττονσι αἱ τροφοὶ τῶν βρεφῶν ὥσπερ κήρινα*.¹²⁰

Cradles

The nurse had various contrivances in which to place the children after they were lulled to sleep. We read that Alcmena cradled her children in a shield:

χάλκειον κατέθηκεν ἐπ' ἀσπίδα.¹²¹

The scholiast on Callimachus, Jove, 48, alluding to this passage of Theocritus, says that military men were accustomed to place their children in shields after birth that they might become vigorous and strong. A specimen of a Greek cradle, that of the infant Hermes, a little two-handled basket shaped like a shoe, is seen on a vase.¹²² The *σκάφη*, another kind of cradle, is mentioned as being instrumental in the *ἀναγνώρισις* of children: *καὶ οἶνον ἐν τῇ Τυροῖ διὰ τῆς σκάφης*.¹²³ Children were also exposed in a *σκάφη*: *ἐνθήμενος οὖν εἰς σκάφην τὰ βρέφη*.¹²⁴ Adrasteia, the nurse of Zeus, lulled him to sleep in a golden winnowing-fan:

Λίκνῳ ἐνὶ χρυσέῳ.¹²⁵

It was considered an omen of future wealth and prosperity to place children in these *λίκνα*.¹²⁶ Bacchus is called *λικνίτης*,¹²⁷ and is represented as carried in a *λίκνον* between a faun and a Bacchante.¹²⁸ Hermes is conceived to have been cradled in the

¹¹⁹ Rep., 377C.

¹²⁰ Galen, De Temperamentis, ii, 578.

¹²¹ Theoc., Idylls, xxiv., 10.

¹²² Panofka, T. Manners and Customs of the Greeks. London, 1849, Plate xi, 1.

¹²³ Arist., Poetics, 16.

¹²⁴ Plut., Rom., 3. Cf. also Eur., Ion, 1398.

¹²⁵ Callimachus, Jove, 48.

¹²⁶ Schol. on Cal., Jove, 48. Etym. Mag. s. v. *λίκνον*.

¹²⁷ Hesychius, s. v. *λικνίτης*.

¹²⁸ Winckelmann, Mon. Ined., Pl. 53.

same manner.¹²⁹ Another kind of cradle shown on a vase looks like a bed on rollers,¹³⁰ and answers very well to the description given by Plutarch, *Fragm. in Hesiod*, 45: οἶα τιςιν εὐκίνητα κλινίδια μεμηχάνηται πρὸς τὴν τῶν παιδίων εὐνήν. The rocking of the cradle is mentioned by Athenaeus: ἡ τροφὸς . . . ἐτίθει αὐτὸ ἐν σκάφῃ . . . ὅτε δὲ κλαίοι . . . τὴν σκάφην ἐκίνει καὶ κατεκοίμιζεν αὐτό.¹³¹

Amusements Furnished by the Nurse

It was natural for the nurse to amuse the children with the various kinds of toys in use in antiquity. Of these, both the literature and the art of Greece furnish many examples. We shall here consider only the toys which are mentioned in direct connection with the nurse. That the nurse sometimes made toys for the children, we learn from Apollonius Rhodius, iii, 131 ff., where the wonderful ball of Zeus τὸ οἱ ποίησε φίλη τροφὸς Ἀδράστεια is described. The shaking of rattles (κρόταλα) before children by the nurse is spoken of by Stobaeus,¹³² and Pollux has preserved a passage dealing with the same subject: τὸ κρόταλον καὶ τὸ σείστρον, ᾧ καταβανκαλῶσιν αἱ τίτθαι ψυχαγωγῶσαι τὰ δυσνπνοῦντα τῶν παιδίων.¹³³ We have a vase-painting which portrays a nurse holding in her arms a child, while before its face she dandles a fruit.¹³⁴ Plutarch's little daughter used to ask her nurse to give her dolls the breast.¹³⁵ We learn from Plautus that the nurses took the children to the theatres:

Nutrix

Me spectatum tulerat per Dionysia.¹³⁶

And in the *Poenulus*, the nurses are bidden to refrain from bring-

¹²⁹ Hom. *H.* to Hermes, 254.

¹³⁰ Blümmer, *H. Leben und Sitten der Griechen*, Fig. 60.

¹³¹ Athen., xiii, 85.

¹³² Stobaeus, *Flor.*, 98, 72.

¹³³ Pollux, *Onomasticon*, ix, 27. Cf. *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, Pt. vi, Lond., 1908, 852, fr. 1.

¹³⁴ Heydemann, *Griechische Vasenbilder*, Taf. 8.

¹³⁵ Plut., *Consol. ad. Ux.*, § 22. ¹³⁶ *Cureulio*, v, 2, 45.

ing the children to that play.¹³⁷ In Vitruvius' account of the origin of the Corinthian Capital, there is mention made of a Corinthian nurse who gathers in a basket the playthings which had served for the amusement of her nursling in life, in order to adorn the tomb with them after death.¹³⁸

General Care Over Children

To keep the child clean and to attend to all its wants were the principal occupations of the nurse. Cilissa recalls in touching terms the childhood of her dear nursling whose death she had just learned. She ran to him by night, at his least cry, anticipating all his wishes and foreseeing all his needs. Careful for the child's cleanliness, she washes its garments and its linen:

ὄν ἐξέθρεψα μητρόθεν δεδεγμένη,
καὶ νυκτιπλάγκτον ὀρθίων κελευμάτων
καὶ πολλὰ καὶ μοχθήρ' ἀνωφέλητ' ἐμοὶ
τλάσῃ. τὸ μὴ φρονοῦν γὰρ ὥσπερ εἰ βροτὸν
τρέφειν ἀνάγκη, πῶς γὰρ οὐ; τροφὴ φρενός·
οὐ γάρ τι φωνεῖ παῖς ἔτ' ὄν ἐν σπαργάνοις,
εἰ λιμὸς ἢ δίψη τις, ἢ λιψουρία
ἔχει· νέα δὲ νηδὺς αὐτάρκης τέκνων.
τούτων πρόμαντις οὐσα, πολλὰ δ', οἶμαι,
ψυεσθείσα παιδὸς σπαργάνων φαιδρύντρια-
γραφεὺς τροφεὺς τε παῦτόν εἰχέτην τέλος.¹³⁹

With less vividness Moschio's nurse recalls the days of his infancy.

πρῶν τοιοῦτον ὄντα Μοσχίων' ἐγώ,
αὐτὸν ἐτιθηνούμην ἀγαπῶσα, νῦν δ' ἐπεὶ
παιδίον ἐκείνου γέγονεν.¹⁴⁰

Suidas suggests another duty in an anonymous passage: *μειράκια, ταῖς τίθταις ἀπομύττειν . . . ἀποπέμψατε*, and the same thing is referred to in the first book of the Republic: *περιορᾷ καὶ οὐκ ἀπομύττει*.¹⁴¹ After the children were washed and dressed by the nurses, they were brought to their mothers who

¹³⁷ Poen., 29-30.

¹³⁸ Vitruvius, De Architectura, iv, 1, 9.

¹³⁹ Aeschylus, Choe., 750ff.

¹⁴¹ Plato, Rep., 343A.

¹⁴⁰ Menander, Samia, 31-3. (Capps.)

took them up and played with them.¹⁴² This fondling of children is mentioned in Agamemnon:

πολέα δ' ἐσχ' ἐν ἀγκάλαις
νεοτρόφου τέκνου δίκαν.¹⁴³

and in Orestes:

καὶ γὰρ μ' ἔθρεψε σμικρὸν ὄντα, πολλὰ δὲ
φιλήματ' ἐξέπλησε, τὸν Ἀγαμέμνωνος
παῖδ' ἀγκάλαισι περιφέρων.¹⁴⁴

That it was resorted to by the nurses, we gather from Samia, 29 ff., where we also learn that the nurse used pet-names in speaking to the children. Aeschines says that Demosthenes acquired the nickname *βάταλος* from his nurse.¹⁴⁵

In learning to walk the children must have had many a tumble; but the nurse was always at hand to pick them up, and clean them, and tidy their dress and afterwards find fault with and correct them: καὶ γὰρ αἱ τίτθαι τοῖς παιδίοις πεσοῦσιν οὐ λοιδορησόμεναι προστρέχουσιν, ἀλλ' ἡγειραν καὶ κατέστειλαν, εἴθ' οὕτως ἐπιπλήττουσι καὶ κολάζουσι.¹⁴⁶ Epictetus speaks of a nurse beating the stone which had caused a child to stumble.¹⁴⁷ Philoctetes, miserably crawling along the ground to obtain food, likens himself to a child without its kind nurse:

τότ' ἂν εἰδυόμενος, παῖς ἄτερ ὡς φίλας τίθηνας.¹⁴⁸

Plato speaks of a method nurses had of finding out what children want. When anything is brought to an infant and he is silent, then he is supposed to be pleased, but when he weeps and cries out, then he is not pleased.¹⁴⁹ Aristotle thinks that the crying of infants should not be restrained since it is conducive to their growth: *συμφέρουσι γὰρ πρὸς αὐξήσιν*,¹⁵⁰ but Plutarch in his *De Cohibenda Ira* says: *ὅπερ οὖν αἱ τίτθαι πρὸς τὰ παιδία λέγουσι "μὴ κλαῖε καὶ λήψῃ" τοῦτο πρὸς τὸν θυμὸν οὐκ ἀχρή-*

¹⁴² Plut., *De Consol.*, § 6.

¹⁴³ Aesch., *Ag.*, 723.

¹⁴⁵ Timarch., 139.

¹⁴⁶ Plut., *De disc. amico ab adul.*, § 28.

¹⁴⁷ Epict., *Diss.*, xix.

¹⁴⁸ Laws, 792A.

¹⁴⁴ Eur., *Orestes*, 462ff.

¹⁴⁹ Soph., *Phil.*, 704.

¹⁵⁰ Polit., vii., 17, 6.

στωσ.¹⁵¹ By means of amulets and charms the nurses sedulously guarded the children against the pernicious influence of witchcraft and the evil eye. Demeter, in the Homeric Hymn, promises the mother that no harm shall come to the child from witchcraft:

θρέψω, κοῦ μιν ἔολπα κακοφραδίῃσι τιθήνης
οὐτ' ἄρ' ἐπηλυσίη δηλήσεται οὐδ' ὑποτάμνον.¹⁵²

The amulets were usually of a grotesque character that the sight being diverted to them should not make so strong an impression on the child.¹⁵³ On the approach of a stranger, a nurse in charge of a sleeping infant would spit towards him as if to keep off from the child a possibly evil influence.¹⁵⁴ Another charm against the evil eye is preserved by St. John Chrysostom: βόρβορον αἱ γυναῖκες ἐν τῷ βαλανείῳ λαμβάνουσαι τροφοὶ καὶ θεραπαινίδες καὶ τῷ δακτύλῳ χρίσασαι κατὰ τοῦ μετώπου τυπούσι τοῦ παιδίου κὰν ἔρηται τις, τί βούλεται ὁ βόρβορος τί δὲ ὁ πηλός; ὁφθαλμὸν πονηρὸν ἀναστρέφει, φασί, καὶ βασκανίαν καὶ φθόνον.¹⁵⁵

At what age the children left the care of the nurses is not certain. Chrysippus allows three years to them,¹⁵⁶ and according to Plato, the boys and girls were separated at six.¹⁵⁷ It seems clear that the boys, at least, were sent early to school to keep them out of harm's way: ἐπεὶ καὶ αἱ τίτθαι τοιάδε λέγουσι περὶ τῶν παιδίων ὡς ἀπιτέον αὐτοῖς ἐς διδασκάλον. καὶ γὰρ ἂν μηδέπω μαθεῖν ἀγαθόν τι δύνωνται, ἀλλ' οὖν φαῦλον οὐδὲν ποιήσουσιν ἐκεῖ μένοντες.¹⁵⁸

The Nurse and the Grown Daughter

The tie between nurse and child might continue strong in later years. She often remained in the family as the attendant and sometimes as the confidante of the young maiden. Thus Naus-

¹⁵¹ § 10.

¹⁵² Plut., Symp., v, 7, 3.

¹⁵³ Ep. i. ad Cor., Hom., 12, 7.

¹⁵⁷ Laws, 794C.

¹⁵² Hom., Hymn to Dem., 227.

¹⁵⁴ Pliny, N. H., xxviii, 38.

¹⁵⁵ Quintilian, i, 1, 16.

¹⁵⁸ Lucian, Hermotim., 82.

icaa's old nurse lights her fire and prepares her evening meal:

ἤ οἱ πῦρ ἀνέκαιε καὶ εἴσω δόρπον ἐκόσμει.¹⁵⁹

The same nurse who had tended Phaedra as an infant remained in her service until the death of her mistress. Her devotion, introduced mainly as a dramatic expedient, is nevertheless life-like. Indeed it is the blindness, even to precipitancy, of her love of Phaedra which must be held accountable for the method employed by her to cure the distemper of her mistress. This she herself acknowledges in her answer to Phaedra:

ἔθρεψά σ' εὖνους τ' εἰμί· τῆς νόσου δέ σοι
ζητοῦσα φάρμαχ' ἤρρον οὐχ ἀβουλόμην.
εἰ δ' εὖ γ' ἔπρξα, κάρτ' ἂν ἐν σοφοῖσιν ᾗ·
πρὸς τὰς τύχας γάρ τὰς φρένας κεκτήμεθα.¹⁶⁰

We read that the nurse accompanied the young maiden out of doors, guarded her well, looking askance at admirers who were attracted by the girl's beauty: "Thou old nurse of a loved one, why do you bark at me while approaching you, and harshly throw me into twice as many pains? For you are leading a very beautiful virgin in whose steps I am treading. See, how I am going along my own path. It is sweet merely to look upon her form. What grudging of eyes is there, thou wretched one! We look upon the forms of even the immortals. . . ."¹⁶¹

Still, she is sometimes the go-between in the maiden's love affairs, as in the tale of Acontius and Cydippe.¹⁶² So, too, the old nurse of Hero dries the tears of her love-sick charge and receives her confidence.¹⁶³ The power and influence of Polyxo, the aged nurse of Hypsipyle, are evidenced by the fact of her being consulted in an affair of state.¹⁶⁴ That these old nurses were

¹⁵⁹ Od., vii., 13.

¹⁶⁰ Eur., Hipp., 698ff.

¹⁶¹ Bruges, Greek Anthology, London, 1893, cxxxii.

¹⁶² This tale was written by Callimachus in his Aetia. There is a prose résumé by Aristænetus, Bk. I, Ep. 10. Cf. Ovid., Ep. 21.

¹⁶³ Ovid, Ep. 18.

¹⁶⁴ Apollonius Rhodius, I, 667ff.

wont to comfort and console their charges when grown up, we learn from the following:

ἤντε κούρη
οἶδθεν ἀσπασίως πολλὴν τροφὸν ἀμφιπεσούσα
μύρεται.¹⁶⁵

The Nurse and the Grown Son

Outside of Homer, we do not find the nurse as actively engaged in duties towards the grown son as towards the daughter. Eurycleia continued her care of Telemachus until he came to man's estate. She accompanied him to his chamber, folded and smoothed his clothes, and having hung them up, carefully closed the door after her.¹⁶⁶ She welcomed him as a son on his return from Pylos,¹⁶⁷ and is sought by him as his faithful friend.¹⁶⁸ She gently reproved him for having blamed his mother where there was no blame,¹⁶⁹ yet she was anxious to see him established in his rights.¹⁷⁰ She is the first to recognize her old master and former nursling, Odysseus.¹⁷¹ On the recognition, he addresses her by the old name of his childhood, *μαῖα*, which Telemachus also uses.¹⁷²

The grief of Cilissa for Orestes shows that her love for him had endured beyond the nursery days.¹⁷³ The unfortunate wood-cutter in Callimachus' Demeter, who had offended the goddess, was bewailed by the nurse by whom he had been suckled.¹⁷⁴ Moschio's nurse still retained loving thoughts of her dear child, Moschio, and was much interested in the son for the sake of the father.¹⁷⁵ The old nurse in Demosthenes' In Evergum was welcomed by her former nursling as a safe companion for his wife during his absence, and his care of her after the robbery is an evidence of the esteem in which she was held.¹⁷⁶ A further indication of the love and gratitude evinced by young men for

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, I., 269ff.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, xvii, 31ff.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, xx, 135.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, xix, 468.

¹⁷³ Aeschylus, Choe., *l. c.*

¹⁷⁵ Menander, Samia, *l. c.*

¹⁶⁶ Od., I., 427ff.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, ii, 349ff.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, xix, 21ff.

¹⁷² *Ibid.*, ii, 349, xix, 482.

¹⁷⁴ Demeter, 90.

¹⁷⁶ Demosth., In Evergum, *l. c.*

the nurses of their childhood is shown in the relatively large number of monuments and epigrams dedicated to them.¹⁷⁷

The Nurse in the Household

When the nurse was not occupied with the child, she owed towards the household, duties which are specifically mentioned in Homer; but not so clearly defined in later authors. Thus the nurse of Eumaeus is engaged in washing when she is seduced by the pirates.¹⁷⁸ Eurycleia is the mainstay of the house in Ithaca, having complete charge of the domestic arrangements. In the morning, she gives her directions for the day's work to the female slaves¹⁷⁹ over whom she has joint supervision with the mistress.¹⁸⁰ These, she taught how to perform the various works of the house — making beds, strewing couches, carding wool, setting tables and cleaning rooms. Besides, she is the stewardess of the household:

ἐν δὲ γυνὴ ταμίη νύκτας τε καὶ ἡμῶν
ἔσχ', ἥ πάντ' ἐφύλασσε νόον πολυιδρεῖσιν,
Εὐρύκλει', Ὀπὸς θυγάτηρ Πεισηνορίδαο.¹⁸¹

and to her Telemachus applies for provisions for his journey.¹⁸² It is characteristic of her to keep the best wine against the home-coming of Odysseus.¹⁸³

Demeter enumerates the duties incumbent on a nurse in addition to her nursing cares:

οἶαί τε τροφοὶ εἰσι θεμιστοπόλων βασιλῆων
παίδων καὶ ταμίαι κατὰ δώματα ἡχέεντα.
· · · · · καὶ δώματα τηρήσαιμι,
καὶ κε λέχος στορέσαιμι μυχῶ θαλάμων εὐπήκτων
δεσπόσυνον, καὶ κ' ἔργα διδασκῆσαιμι γυναῖκας.¹⁸⁴

They are substantially the same as those of Eurycleia.

So far as we can see, the nurse of Tragedy is occupied almost

¹⁷⁷ Cf. Chap. V.

¹⁷⁹ Od., xx, 149.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*, ii, 345ff.

¹⁸² *Ibid.*, ii, 352.

¹⁸⁴ Hom., H. to Demeter, 103-4; 142-4.

¹⁷⁸ Od., xv, 420.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, xxii, 420-5.

¹⁸³ *Ibid.*, ii, 349ff.

exclusively with the mistress. The nurse of Medea, however, affects a superior tone in speaking to the *παιδαγωγός*,¹⁸⁵ and gives him directions concerning the children.¹⁸⁶ In a similar way the nurse of Comedy seems to have authority over some of the servants.¹⁸⁷

General Characteristics of the Nurse

Instances of the love and devotedness of nurses are not wanting in the literature. From Homer down, we see the nurse as a kind mother lavishing love and affection on the child that she nursed. In the *Odyssey*, Eurycleia is represented as loving Telemachus more than did the other women:

καὶ ἔτρεφε τυτθὸν ἑόντα.¹⁸⁸

and Penelope bears witness that Eurycleia had diligently nursed and tended Odysseus:

εὖ τρέφεν ἦδ' ἀτίταλλε.¹⁸⁹

Right willingly did the old nurse give her services to one who reminded her of her master. She is the first to recognize him by the scar he had received in his youth. Then

τὴν δ' ἄμα χάρμα καὶ ἄλγος ἔλε φρένα, τὼ δέ οἱ ὕσσε
δακρυόφι πλησθῆν, θαλερὴ δέ οἱ ἔσχετο φωνή.¹⁹⁰

A picture of true devotedness is given by Herodotus,¹⁹¹ where a nurse takes an ugly child every day to the temple of Helen to implore the gift of beauty for her charge.

Stesichorus¹⁹² and Pindar¹⁹³ assert that it was the nurse who saved Orestes from his mother after his father's murder. Aeschylus calls her Cilissa, and points her out to us as full of love and devotedness for the child.¹⁹⁴ Such is the devotion of Medea's nurse for her mistress that the old *παιδαγωγός* is surprised to

¹⁸⁵ Eur., *Medea*, 60.

¹⁸⁷ Menander, *Samia*, 40. (Capps.)

¹⁸⁹ Od., xix, 354.

¹⁹¹ vi., 61.

¹⁹³ Pyth., xi, 28.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 90.

¹⁸⁸ Od., I, 435.

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, xix, 471.

¹⁹² Frag. 42. (Bergk.)

¹⁹⁴ Choe., 738-82.

see her outside the place without Medea.¹⁹⁵ The nurse in the Trachiniae shows real grief for the fate of her mistress,¹⁹⁶ while Phaedra's nurse attributes her unwise action to excess of love,¹⁹⁷ and Hypsipyle's nursling is as dear to her as her own child.¹⁹⁸ Fidelity is the attribute which characterizes Aristophanes' *πιστὴ τροφός*.¹⁹⁹ A good instance of the nurse's care for the child is given in Menander, where an old nurse, seeing a child crying and neglected, goes up to it and says: "My darling, and my precious, and where is Mama?" She then kisses it and walks about with it until it stops crying, when she says to herself, "Ah me, it seems but yesterday I was nursing that dear child, Moschio, and now that a child is born to him!" Then to a young girl who comes running in from outside: "Bathe the child, can't you? What is this? Is it because it is his father's wedding day that you have no care of the little one?"²⁰⁰

Examples of tender attachment are also met with in real life. Demosthenes furnishes a typical illustration in Oration, xlvii. "I explained to the interpreters the attachment of the woman to our family, the cause of my having her in my house, and that she had lost her life in the defense of my property. She had no kind of family connection with me, except that she had been my nurse."

In contrast to these, we have but few instances of unkindness on the part of the nurse. However, the perversity of human nature is exemplified in the illustration Plutarch gives: "For nurses, who are often rubbing the dirt off their infants, sometimes tear the flesh and put them to torture."²⁰¹ This contrary note is again struck in Stobaeus,²⁰² where the lack of skill and teasing humor of some nurses is portrayed. The child is hungry, the nurse obliges it to sleep; it is thirsty, she gives it a bath; it is sleepy, she keeps it awake by shaking rattles in its ears. Aristophanes, too, does not spare those nurses who rob their nurslings

¹⁹⁵ Medea, 52.

¹⁹⁶ Soph., Trach., 871ff.

¹⁹⁷ Hipp., 698.

¹⁹⁸ The Oxyrhynchus Papyri, pt. VI, Euripides, Hys., fr. 60.

¹⁹⁹ M., ii, 1965.

²⁰⁰ Samia, 40ff. St. Paul instances the nurse as the exemplar of gentleness; but "nurse" here is usually interpreted "mother." Cf. I, Thess., ii, 7. *ὡς ἂν τροφός θάλῃ τὰ ἑαυτῆς τέκνα.*

²⁰¹ De Vitiosa Pudore, § 2.

²⁰² Florelegium, 98, 72.

of a part of their meal.²⁰³ Though the chattering²⁰⁴ and tipping propensities²⁰⁵ of the nurse are sometimes referred to, we do not read that they led her to neglect the child. In fact, neglect and unkindness to children are not characteristic of the Greek nurse as popularly conceived. Of this we have ample evidence from the number of metaphors employed in the literature wherein the nurse figures and always in a good sense. One's fatherland is frequently called a nurse, since the care and nurture bestowed on a man by his country is like that given the child by the nurse. We read of the much-nourishing nurse, Greece ('Ελλάδος ἀμνητήρα πολυθρέπτοιο τιθήνης);²⁰⁶ your motherland, most beloved nurse (γῆ τε μητρί, φιλτάτη τροφῶ;)²⁰⁷ this, thy country, nursed thee:

(αὐτ' ἐννομ' εἶπας οὔτε προσφιλὲς πόλει
τῇδ', ἥ σ' ἔθρεψε, τήνδ' ἀποστερῶν φάτιν;)²⁰⁸

Apollo may love me as caring for his dear nurse, i. e. the island of Delos (Κύνθιος αἰνήσῃ με φίλης ἀλέγοντα τιθήνης),²⁰⁹ and many other examples. The dinner table is styled the nurse of life (βίου τιθήνη).²¹⁰ The dove keeping the snake from her brood is an all-attentive nurse:

(δράκοντες ὥς τις τέκνων
ὑπερδέδοικεν λεχαίων δυσενάτορας
πάντροφος πελειάς.)²¹¹

The fountains are called the nurses of Bacchus, because the water being mingled with the wine increased the quantity of the wine.²¹²

Thus we find that in the performance of her fourfold office towards child, grown daughter, grown son, and household, the

²⁰³ Knights, 717.

²⁰⁴ M., iv, 89.

²⁰⁵ Men., Samia, 90; Terence, Andria, 229. Cf. also Legrand, Daos, Lyon, 1910, p. 132.

²⁰⁶ Anthologia Graeca, ed. Bosch, 1795. L. 5, T. 1, E. 66.

²⁰⁷ Aesch., Seven against Thebes, 16.

²⁰⁸ Soph., O. R., 322.

²⁰⁹ Call., Delos, 10.

²¹⁰ Athen., x, 83.

²¹¹ Aesch., Seven against Thebes, 291.

²¹² Athen., xi, 13.

nurse exhibited a tender devotion towards the family in which she lived and especially towards the members of it who had been the former objects of her care.

CHAPTER IV

NURSERY TALES AND LULLABIES

The importance of the nurse in Greek life may be judged from the fact that to her as well as to the mother was entrusted the early education of the child. Quintilian quoting Chrysippus, whose treatise on Greek education has unfortunately been lost, says: "Those advise better who like Chrysippus think that no part of a child's life should be exempt from education. For Chrysippus, though he has allowed three years to the nurses, yet is of the opinion that the minds of children may be imbued with excellent instruction even by them."²¹³ The same author wishes nurses to be women of some knowledge. At any rate, they should be the best circumstances allow.²¹⁴ If we can judge from Republic, 343 *a*, the nurse taught the children to distinguish between ordinary words: εἰπέ μοι, ἔφη, ᾧ Σώκρατες, τίθη σοι ἔστιν; . . . ὅτι τοί σε, ἔφη, κορυζῶντα περιορᾷ καὶ οὐκ ἀπομύττει δεόμενον, ὃς γε αὐτῇ οὐδὲ πρόβατα οὐδὲ ποιμένα γινώσκεις.

The first lessons of the nurse were imparted by means of stories and songs, when children were not of an age to learn gymnastic. Of this Plato makes mention in the following passage: οὐ μανθάνεις, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, ὅτι πρῶτον τοῖς παιδίοις μύθοις λεγόμενον; τοῦτο δέ που ὡς τὸ ὅλον εἰπεῖν ψεῦδος, ἐνὶ δὲ καὶ ἀληθῆ. πρότερον δὲ μύθοις πρὸς τὰ παιδία ἢ γυμνασίοις χρώμεθα.²¹⁵ Furthermore, he would have mothers and nurses mould the minds of the children by means of these tales: πείσομεν τὰς τροφούς τε καὶ μητέρας πλάττειν τὰς ψυχὰς αὐτῶν τοῖς μύθοις πόλῳ μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ σώματα ταῖς χερσίν.²¹⁶

In ancient literature, however, we find only isolated traces of nursery tales which may perhaps be accounted for by the contempt with which the Greeks regarded this form of literature,

²¹³ Quintilian, I. 1, 16.

²¹⁵ Plato, Rep., 377A.

²¹⁴ *Ibid.*, I. 1, 4.

²¹⁶ Rep., 377C.

an inference drawn from Socrates' answer to Hippias: σοι χαίρουσιν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἅτε πολλὰ εἰδότι· καὶ χρῶνται ὥσπερ ταῖς πρεσβύτισιν οἱ παῖδες πρὸς τὸ ἡδέως μυθολογῆσαι.²¹⁷ More emphatic is his answer to Gorgias: τάχα δ' οὖν ταῦτα μῦθος σοι δοκεῖ λέγεσθαι, ὥσπερ γραός· καὶ καταφρονεῖς αὐτῶν.²¹⁸ In a similar strain writes Lucian: ἔτι σοι γραῶν μῦθοι τὰ λεγόμενα ἔστι.²¹⁹ Disconnected as are the allusion to nursery tales and notwithstanding the contempt in which they were held, we have sufficient evidence to prove their existence and suggest their character.

Nurses had many ways of acting on the imaginations of their young charges in order to secure their obedience, to quiet them or put them in good humor. The choice of the tales depended on the nurse and on the intelligence of the children whom they nursed διὰ μυθολογίας,²²⁰ and quieted again by tales after they had beaten them: καθάπερ αἱ τίτθαι τὰ παιδία, ἐπειδὴν αὐτοῖς πληγὰς ἐμβάλωσι παραμυθούμεναι καὶ χαριζόμεναι μῦθον αὐτοῖς ὕστερον διηγῆσαντο.²²¹ This recounting of tales is also mentioned by Philostratus: καὶ καταμυθολόγει με ἡ τίτθη χαριέντως.²²²

As a substitute for the sandal, which according to Lucian²²³ was energetically applied, they sometimes told the children stories of an awe-inspiring character. The time-honored bogey was always in requisition to frighten them into good behavior, while there were tales of a pleasing character for the good children. These two classes of tales which we may designate as protreptic and apotropaic are clearly defined by Strabo in the following passage: τοῖς τε γὰρ παισὶ προσφέρομεν τοὺς ἡδέεις μύθους εἰς προτροπὴν εἰς ἀποτροπὴν δὲ τοὺς φοβερούς.²²⁴

We shall first consider the apotropaic tales, or bogeys. Of these, the most frequently mentioned is Lamia who is so intimately connected with the domain of fable that Plutarch called

²¹⁷ Plato, Hipp. Maj., 286A.

²¹⁸ Gorgias, 527A. Cf. also Rep., 350E and Lysis, 205D.

²¹⁹ Lucian, Philopseudes, 9.

²²⁰ Maximus Tyrius, I, x, 3. καθάπερ αἱ τίτθαι τοὺς παῖδας διὰ μυθολογίας βαυκαλῶσι

²²¹ Dion Chrysostom, 4, 164.

²²³ Lucian, Philips, 28.

²²² Philostr., Her., I, p. 668.

²²⁴ Strabo, I, 2, 6.

Demetrius Μῦθος because the name of his mistress was Lamia: Δημοχάρης δὲ ὁ Σόλιος τὸν Δημήτριον ἐκάλει Μῦθον. εἶναι γὰρ αὐτῷ καὶ Λάμιαν (Λάμιαν).²²⁵

From Diodorus we learn that she was of Libya: τίς τοῦνομα ἐπονείδιστον βροτοῖς οὐκ οἶδε Λαμίας τῆς Λιβυστικῆς γένος.²²⁶ The Scholiast on Aristophanes, Peace, 758, says that she was a Libyan woman with whom Zeus consorted, not without the knowledge of Hera, who being jealous, destroyed Lamia's children. When they were killed and she was overburdened, Lamia killed the children of others.²²⁷ Therefore, nurses called Lamia to them to frighten children. And the story is told how she by the counsel of Hera passed her life sleepless, so that day and night she was in continual pain, until Zeus taking pity on her made her eyes removable.²²⁸ Plutarch thus speaks of her in De Curiositate: νῦν δὲ ὥσπερ ἐν τῷ μύθῳ τὴν Λάμιαν λέγουσιν· οἴκοι μὲν ᾄδειν τυφλήν, ἐν ἀγγείῳ τι τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐχουσαν ἀποκειμένους ἐξω δὲ προιοῦσαν ἐπιτίθεται καὶ βλέπειν. Her singing would attract children to her abode but they had a chance to escape when her eyes were ἐν ἀγγείῳ.²²⁹

The fear which children had for the Lamia is referred to by Lucian in a passage where he is speaking of the stories told to children: μυθῖδια παίδων ψυχὰς κηλεῖν δυνάμενα ἐπὶ τὴν Μορμὴ καὶ τὴν Λάμιαν δεδιότων.²³⁰ She was said to devour children alive. Whence Horace: "Neu pransae Lamia vivum puerum extrabat alvo."²³¹ Philostratus represents her as a monster, possessing the blood-sucking reputation of the vampire.²³² Dionysius of Halicarnassus mentions her in a passage in which he is treating of the fables of earlier historians: Λαμίας τινὰς ἱστοροῦντες ἐν ὕλαις καὶ νάπαις ἐκ γῆς ἀνιέμενας, καὶ ναῖδας ἀμφιβίους ἐκ ταρτάρων ἐξιούσας καὶ διὰ πελάγους νηχομένας καὶ μισόθερας, καὶ ταύτας εἰς ὁμιλίαν ἀνθρώποις συνερχομένας.²³³

²²⁵ Plutarch, Dem., 27.

²²⁷ Scholia on Peace, 758.

²²⁹ Plutarch, De Curios., 2.

²³¹ Ars Poetica, 340. Cf. A. W. Verrall, Collected Studies in Greek and Latin Scholarship, Cambridge 1913, p. 306.

²³³ Vit. Apoll. Tyan., iv, 25.

²²⁶ xx, 41.

²²⁸ Ibid on Waspa, 1035.

²³⁰ Philops., 2.

²³² De Thucy, Jud., 6.

Lamia plays an important part in modern Greek nursery tales, where she is portrayed as a monster, hideous and deformed, hungry for human flesh, partaking of the nature of the Harpy, the Gorgon, and the Empusa.²²⁴ Belief in her is so common in Greece that Wachsmuth says when a child dies suddenly they say: τὸ παιδί τὸ ἔπνιξε ἡ Λάμια.²²⁵

With Lamia, Strabo groups: Γοργὼ καὶ ὁ Ἐφιάλτης καὶ ἡ Μορμολύκη.²²⁶ That the hideous aspect of the Gorgon was used as a bugbear, may be gathered from Aristophanes, Acharnians, 582, where Lammachus is bidden to take away his shield which has the Gorgon for a device: ἀπένευκε μου ἦν μορμόνα. As if the speaker said: "Take away the representation of the Gorgon which strikes terror into me, as μορμώ does into children." Mormolyke is called the nurse of Acheron, husband of Gorgyce by Sophron.²²⁷ The significance of the name is derived from μορμολύκεια, the general term for "bogey" of which Plato, speaking of the fear of death, says: μὴ δεδιέναι τὸν θάνατον, ὥσπερ τὰ μορμολύκεια.²²⁸

To the apotropaic nursery tales belong also the stories of Acco and Alphito which are classed together by Plutarch: τῆς Ἀκκοῦς καὶ τῆς Ἀλφίτους δ' ὦν τὰ παιδάκια τοῦ κακοσχολεῖν αἱ γυναῖκες ἀνείργουσιν.²²⁹ According to Hesychius the word Acco is etymologically connected with ἄσκος and ἄκκορ, so that by Acco was originally meant a bugbear which carried off naughty children in a bag. In a similar manner Alphito, from ἄλφιστα is explained.

Another favorite of the nurses was Gello: δαίμων ἦν γυναῖκες τὰ νεογνὰ παιδιά φασὶν ἀρπάζειν. (Hesychius.) Zenobius, iii, 3, explaining the proverb, Γελλῶ παιδαφιλωέτρα, says of her: Γελλῶ γάρ τις ἦν παρθένος, καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἀώρως ἐτελεύτησε, φασὶν οἱ Λέσβιοι αὐτῆς τὸ φάντασμα ἐπιφοιτᾶν ἐπὶ τὰ παιδιά, καὶ τοὺς τῶν ἀώρων θανάτους αὐτῇ ἀνατιθέασι.

²²⁴ Von Hahn, Griech. und Alb. Märchen.

²²⁵ Wachsmuth, Das alte Griechenland im neuen, Bonn, 1864, S. 57.

²²⁶ Geographica, I, 19.

²²⁷ Cf. Roscher, Lexicon, Leipzig 1884-. s. v. Gorgo.

²²⁸ Phaedo, 77A. Cf. Lucian, Philips., 23; Tox., 24; Zeus, 12.

²²⁹ De Stoic. repugn., 15.

Μέμνηται ταύτης Σάπφω.²⁴⁰ Hesychius also styles her εἰδωλον Ἐμπούσης. The Empusa here referred to is placed in the same category with Lamia and Mormolyke: ἡ χρηστή νύμφη μίᾱ τῶν Ἐμπουσῶν ἐστίν, ὡς Λαμίας τε καὶ μορμολοκίας οἱ πολλοὶ ἡγοῦνται.²⁴¹ She possessed the property of assuming any form she pleased: "For they were travelling by a bright moonlight when the figure of an empusa or hobgoblin appeared to them that changed from one form into another until finally it vanished into nothing."²⁴² According to the Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius, iii, 860, Hecate often sends out ghosts, the so-called Ἐκαταῖρα and often changes her form, wherefore she is called Empusa. Aeschines' mother acquired the nickname Empusa ἐκ τοῦ πάντα ποιεῖν,²⁴³ according to the Scholiast πάντα τὰ αἰσχροῦ καὶ ἀνόσια.

Another bogey was the Strigla, the Roman Strix (Mod. Greek στρίγλαις), of which mention is made in a fragment of an ancient nursery song:

Στρίγγ' ἀποπομπεῖν νυκτιβάαν, στρίγγ' ἀπὸ λαῶν,
ῥῥιν ἀνωνυμίαν ὠκυπόρους ἐπὶ νῆας.²⁴⁴

The wolf had also its place in this literature, since its name was used in the same manner as the bugbears mentioned above:

Ἄγροικος ἠπέιλησε νηπίῳ τίτθῃ
κλαίοντι ἑαυτοῖς· μή σε τῷ λύκῳ ρίψω.²⁴⁵

A good example of the way in which children were frightened by these bogeys is given in Theocritus, where Praxinoe who wants to go out to the Adonis festival says to the child who runs after her crying:

οὐκ ἄξω τυ, τέκνον· Μορμῶ, δάκνει ἵππος·
δάκρυε, ὅσσα θέλεις· χαλὸν δ' οὐ δεῖ σε γένεσθαι.²⁴⁶

²⁴⁰ Cf. Sappho, frag. 27 (Bergk).

²⁴¹ Philostratus, Life of Apoll. Tyan., Bk. iv., c. 25.

²⁴² *Ibid.*, Bk. ii., c. 5.

²⁴³ Demosthenes, De Corona, 270.
²⁴⁴ Smythe, Melic Poets, p. 158. Cf. also Oliphant's learned article "The Story of the Strix: Ancient" in "Transactions of the Am. Philol. Asso.", Boston, 1913, vol. xliv.

²⁴⁵ Aesop, Babrius, 49.

²⁴⁶ Idylls, xv, 40.

Another instance is given by Callimachus in the Hymn to Artemis, where he tells that when a mother in Olympus cannot get her daughter to obey her, she calls one of the Cyclopes, and the indefatigable Hermes appears immediately with his face smeared with soot to personate the Cyclops. Then the child hastens in fright to her mother and puts her head on her bosom:

ἀλλ' ὅτε κουράων τις ἀπειθέα μητέρι τεύχε,
μήτηρ μὲν Κύκλωπας ἔῃ ἐπὶ παιδί καλιστρεῖ,
Ἄργην, ἣ Στερόπην· ὁ δὲ δώματος ἐκ μυχάτοιο,
ἔρχεται Ἑρμείης σποδὶη κεχρημένος αἶθρ.
αὐτίκα τὴν κούρην μορμύσσεται.²⁴⁷

The Scholion on this passage says: *καταπληκτικὰ φοβερά. ἐκ μεταφορᾶς τῆς μορμούς τὰ βρέφη φοβούσης.*²⁴⁸ The *μορμώ* here spoken of was a woman of horrible and monstrous aspect which Hesychius calls *τὸ φόβητρον τοῖς παιδίοις*. Xenophon likens the fear of the allies to that which young children have for *μορμώ*: οἱ μὲν Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐπισκώπτειν ἐτόλμων ὡς οἱ σύμμαχοι φοβοῦντο τοὺς πελταστὰς, ὥσπερ μορμόνας παιδάρια²⁴⁹ Aristophanes also makes use of this word:

οὐδὲν δέομεθ', ὠνθρωπε, τῆς σῆς μόρμονος.²⁵⁰
ὀφρὺς ἔχοντα καὶ λόφους, δεῖν' ἄττα μορμωπα.²⁵¹
ὥς δὴ καταπιόμενός με. μορμῶ τοῦ θράσους.²⁵²

Such were the tales told by nurses to frighten children into good behavior. We cannot but think that these stories, although they secured obedience for the time being, must have had a deleterious effect on the children. This view is substantiated by a passage of Lucian: "If you do not want to fill these boys' heads with ghosts and hobgoblins, postpone your grotesque horrors for a more suitable occasion. Have some mercy on the lads: do not accustom them to listen to a tangle of superstitious stuff that will cling

²⁴⁷ Callimachus, Artem., 66ff.

²⁴⁸ Scholion on Theocritus, Idylls, xv, 49.

²⁴⁹ Hellenica, 4.

²⁵⁰ Peace, 474.

²⁵¹ Frogs, 925.

²⁵² Knights, 693.

to them for the rest of their lives and make them start at their own shadow."²⁵³

What the children naturally preferred to these threats were the stories told to put them to sleep or to amuse them — the proreptic tales. The nurses had a store of such tales, and *γραῶν* or *τιπθῶν μῦθοι* have grown into a proverb.²⁵⁴

The subject-matter of these tales was the actions of the gods and heroes of mythology: *γεγονὼς αὐτὸς ἐκ Διὸς τε καὶ τῆς τοῦ δήμου ἀρχηγέτου θνγατρός· ἅπερ αἱ γραῖαι ᾄδουσι*.²⁵⁵ Hence the telling of them might have the greatest influence on the moral education of the children. Plato, therefore, enlarges on the care to be taken in their selection, so that the children might not receive immoral impressions and false ideas: *ἄρ' οὖν ῥαδίως οὕτω παρήσομεν τοὺς ἐπιτυχόντας ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπιτυχόντων μύθους πλασθέντας ἀκούειν τοὺς παῖδας καὶ λαμβάνειν ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς ὥς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ ἐναντίας δόξας ἐκείναις, ἃς, ἐπειδὴν τελεωθῶσιν, ἔχειν οἰησόμεθα δεῖν αὐτούς*;²⁵⁶ He therefore establishes a censorship of the writers of fiction, and rejects even Hesiod and Homer: *πρῶτον δὴ ἡμῖν, ὥς ἔοικεν, ἐπιστατητέον τοῖς μυθοποιοῖς, καὶ ὃν μὲν ἂν καλὸν ποιήσωσιν, ἐγκριτέον, ὃν δ' ἂν μὴ, ἀποκριτέον. τοὺς δ' ἐγκριθέντας πείσομεν τὰς τροφούς τε καὶ μητέρας λέγειν τοῖς παισὶ*.²⁵⁷ As a matter of fact, all sins that men could commit were imputed to the gods by these poets.²⁵⁸

The story of Zeus who thrust his father from the throne would teach children disloyalty to parents,²⁵⁹ while his amorous connections with goddesses and mortals could not but have a pernicious effect on young minds. Plutarch thinks nurses should be restrained in the selection of these tales: *μὴ τοὺς τυχόντας μύθους τοῖς παιδίοις λέγειν, ἵνα μὴ τὰς τούτων ψυχὰς ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἀνοίας καὶ διαφθορᾶς ἀναπύμπλασθαι συμβαίῃη*,²⁶⁰ and Aristotle wishes to place these matters under the supervision of the

²⁵³ Lucian, Philop., 37 (Fowler's Translation).

²⁵⁴ Plato, Gorgias, 527; Hip. Maj., 286; Lucian, Phil., 9.

²⁵⁵ Plato, Lysis, 295D.

²⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, Rep., 377B.

²⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, Rep., 377D.

²⁵⁸ Sextus Empiricus, adv. Math., ix, 193.

²⁵⁹ Cf. Aristoph., Clouds, 904; Plato, Laws, §8860.

²⁶⁰ Pseudo-Plut., De Lib. Ed., § 5.

Paedonomoi: καὶ περὶ λόγων τε καὶ μύθων ποίους τινὰς ἀκούειν δεῖ τοὺς τηλικούτους ἐπιμελὲς ἔστω τοῖς ἀρχουσιν, οὓς καλοῦσι παιδονόμους.²⁶¹

On the other hand, ancient mythology is so full of humor and imagination and so rich in amusing adventures, that many of these same stories might do excellent service to-day as nursery tales. For example, the story of the inventiveness of Hermes even in his cradle, the adventures of Odysseus, the labors of Hercules, and many others would furnish enjoyment to many a child.²⁶²

Philostratus records that nurses made use of the tale of Theseus and Ariadne: ὅτι τὴν Ἀριάδην ὁ Θησεὺς ἀδίκᾳ δρῶν κατελίπεν ἐν Δία τῇ νήσῳ καθεύδουσα τάχαν, του καὶ τίτθης διάκῃσας, σοφαὶ γὰρ ἐκείναι τὰ τοιαῦτα καὶ δακρύουσεν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ὅταν ἐθέλωσιν.²⁶³

The magic rings which Timolous wishes for in Lucian, seem to have been borrowed from a nursery tale,²⁶⁴ and the story of the ring of Gyges, which rendered its wearer invisible, contains elements of the nursery tale.²⁶⁵ Stories told for comfort and consolation are alluded to by Euripides, where Amphitryon counsels Megara to tell tales to the children disturbed over their father's absence:

ἀλλ' ἡσύχαζε καὶ δακρυρρόους τέκνων
πηγὰς ἀφαίρει καὶ παρεκκῆλαι λόγοις,
κλέπτουσα μύθοις ἀθλίνους κλοπὰς ὅμως.²⁶⁶

At the festival of the Oschophoria, the telling of old fables and tales to children was part of the ritual.²⁶⁷

The style characteristic of modern nursery tales was in vogue in classical times, as we learn from Aristophanes where the first words of a tale correspond to our well-known "Once upon a time."

οὕτω ποτ' ἦν μὲν καὶ γαλῆ.²⁶⁸

The Scholiast commenting on this line says: πρὸς τὴν συνήθειαν, ὅτι τὸν μῦθον προέταπτον οὕτως, οἶον, ἦν οὕτω γέρων καὶ

²⁶¹ Aristotle, Pol, vii, 17.

²⁶² Philostr., Imag., i, 15.

²⁶³ Plato, Rep., 359D.

²⁶⁷ Plut., Theseus, 23.

²⁶² Cf. Kinglsey's "Greek Heroes."

²⁶⁴ Navigium, 42.

²⁶⁵ Hercules Furens, 98ff.

²⁶⁶ Wasps, 1182.

γραῦς. καὶ Πλάτων ἐν Φαίδρῳ (237 B) ἦν οὕτω δὴ παῖς μάλ-
 λον δὲ μεираκίσκος· τούτῳ δ' ἦσαν ἐράσται πάνυ πολλοί.
 There is another instance in Lysistrata, where the semi-choruses,
 telling each other a little nursery tale begin:

οὕτως ἦν πότε
 οὕτω 269

The purpose of all these tales is training to virtue, and is well expressed by the Scholiast on Hermogenes, *Progymnasmata*, i.e.:
 τὸν μῦθον ἀξιούσι προσάγειν τοῖς νεοῖς ὅτι τὰς ψυχὰς αὐτῶν
 πρὸς τὸ βέλτιον ρυθμίζειν δύναται.

We conclude that there was at Athens a store of popular tales for the amusement of children, many of which were attributed to Aesop whom Herodotus calls *λογοποιός*.²⁷⁰ The word *λογοποιός* seems to indicate that a prose version of his fables may have circulated in Athens in the time of Socrates.²⁷¹ What is certain, however, is that these tales were very much enjoyed and that Socrates himself versified some of them.²⁷² The so-called Aesopic tales began "Aesop said."²⁷³ Other tales were classified as Libyan, Cyprian and Sybaritic, distinguishable by the opening words: "A man (or a woman) of Sybaris (or of Libya or of Cypris) said."²⁷⁴ A further distinction between the fables of Aesop and those of Sybaris is that the latter were political and about men; the former, ethical and about animals.²⁷⁵ A *Λιβυκὸς μῦθος* is mentioned by Dion Chrysostom employed to calm children after they had been chastised.²⁷⁶

LULLABIES

Allied to the nursery tales are the lullabies of the nurses "aussi vieux que le monde et qui dureront autant que lui,"²⁷⁷ which Athenaeus calls *καταβανκαλήσεις*: αἱ δὲ τῶν τιτθενουσῶν ᾧδαι καταβανκαλήσεις ὀνομάζονται.²⁷⁸ They are also called

²⁶⁹ Aristoph., *Lys.*, 781-793.

²⁷⁰ *ii*, 134.

²⁷¹ Croiset, *Hist. de la lit. grecque*, Paris, 1898, vol. 2, p. 475.

²⁷² Plato, *Phaedo*, 600D.

²⁷³ Theon, *Progymn.*, 3.

²⁷⁴ Aristophanes, *Wasps*, 1427. Cf. also Hermog., *Progymn.*, I.

²⁷⁵ Scholion on Aristoph., *Wasps*, 1259.

²⁷⁶ Dion Chrysostom, 4, 163R (Dindorf). Cf. also Schol. on *Birds*, 807.

²⁷⁷ Croiset, vol. II, p. 19.

²⁷⁸ Athenaeus, 618E.

*βαυκαλήματα*²⁷⁹ from *βαυκαλάω* "to lull to sleep" onomatopoeically formed from the nurse's song. Plato refers to them in the *Laws* where he says that when mothers and nurses are desirous to put their children to sleep, they do not bring them to a state of quiet, but on the contrary of motion, *καὶ οὐ σιγῇν, ἀλλὰ τινα μελωδίαν*.²⁸⁰

The following passage from Aristotle seems to indicate that they were simple melodies without words, sung to a certain rhythm: *διὰ τί ρυθμῶ καὶ μέλει καὶ ὅλως ταῖς συμφωνίαις χαίρουσι πάντες; ἥ ὅτι ταῖς κατὰ φύσιν κινήσεσι χαίρομεν κατὰ φύσιν; σημεῖον δὲ τὸ τὰ παῖδια εὐθὺς γεγόμενα χαίρειν αὐτοῖς*.²⁸¹

Chrysippus assigns a peculiar tune for the lullabies of nurses.²⁸² Sextus Empiricus very appropriately styles them a metrical humming (*ἐμμέλης μινύρισμα*).²⁸³ It is probable also that to these melodies, the nurses adapted improvised words, as we do. This view is borne out by the fact that certain specimens exist which are imitations or elaborations of those really in use at the time they were written. The Lullaby of Alcmena in Theocritus is an instance:

εὐδετ' ἐμὰ βρέφεια γλυκερὸν καὶ ἐγέρσιμον ὕπνον·
εὐδετ' ἐμὰ ψυχὰ, δὴ ἀδελφεῶ, εὔσοα τέκνα·
δλβιοι εὐνάξουσθε, καὶ δλβιοι φῶ ἱκεσθαι.²⁸⁴

The melody of these lines is beautiful; the crooning sound of the open vowels in the first two, the rounded refrain of the last, with its repeated *δλβιοι* and rhyming halves give it all the characteristics of a lullaby.²⁸⁵

Not less beautiful are Simonides' lines in the fragment called "The Lament of Danae." While tossed about by the waves, she sings her child to sleep with these words:

κίλομαι εὐδε βρέφος, εὐδέτω, δὲ πόντος,
εὐδέτω δ' ἀμέτερον κακόν.

²⁷⁹ Socraticorum Epistolae. Cf. also Hesychius.

²⁸⁰ Plato, *Laws*, 790E.

²⁸¹ Problems, xix, 38.

²⁸² Quintilian, I, 10, 32.

²⁸³ Adv. Math., 6, 32.

²⁸⁴ Idylls, xxiv, 6.

²⁸⁵ Cf. Cholmley, Theocritus, London, 1901, p. 343.

μεταβολία δὲ τις φανείη Ζεῦ πάτερ, ἐκ σίο.
 ὅττι δὲ θαρσαλέον ἔπος
 εὔχομαι καὶ νόσφι δίκας, συγγνωθί μοι.²⁸⁶

The spirit of rest which pervades the song of the chorus to the sorely-suffering Philoctetes suggests the lullaby:

ὑπν' ὀδύνας ἀδαῆς, ὕπνε δ' ἀλγίων,
 εὐαδὲς ἡμῖν ἔλθοις,
 εὐαίων, εὐαίων, ὦναξ·
 ὄμμασι δ' ἀντίσχοις
 τὰν δ' αἶγλαν, ἃ τέταται τὰ νῦν.²⁸⁷

Finally, we have another recollection of the nurse's song in Orestes:

πότνια, πότνια νύξ,
 ὑπνοδότειρα τῶν πολυτόνων βροτῶν,
 ἐρεβόθεν ἴθι, μῶλε μῶλε κατάπτερος
 τὸν Ἀγαμεμόνιον ἐπὶ δόμον.
 ὑπὸ γὰρ ἀλγίων ὑπὸ τε συμφορᾶς
 δ' ιοιχόμεθ', οἰχόμεθα. κτύπον ἡγάγετ'· οὐχὶ σίγα
 σίγα φυλασσομένα στόματος
 ἄνα κέλαδον ἀπὸ λέχεος ἥ-
 συχον ὕπνου χάριν παρέξεις, φίλα;²⁸⁸

These are but the traces of a class of songs, which without doubt were employed by the Greek mothers and nurses to lull the children to sleep. From the very nature of these songs, it is highly improbable that any lullaby should survive in the literature.

²⁸⁶ Simonides, Fragment 37 (Bergk).

²⁸⁷ Sophocles, Philoctetes, 827ff.

²⁸⁸ Euripides, Orestes, 174ff.

CHAPTER V

MONUMENTS TO THE NURSE

The relations between nurse and master were of that sacred character which cease not with death. Her sincere and tender affection was not only repaid during life by the master's solicitude for her well-being; but after death her memory was frequently perpetuated by the erection of monuments.

The unearthing of many of these has proved a fertile source of information concerning the nurse. Her name, sometimes her parentage, and even details of her life and virtues find expression in the sepulchral inscriptions.

The commonest form of grave-stone erected to the memory of the nurse is the "Stele", a horizontal grave-relief more or less ornamented, and usually representing the nurse seated, bidding farewell to her master or mistress. Conze in his *Die attischen Grabreliefs* describes several of these.

The nurse Melitta, daughter of Apollodorus, the metic, is honored by a monument erected by her master, Hippostrates, who is also represented on the relief. Beneath is the following inscription:

Ἐνθάδε τὴν χρηστὴν τίτθην κατὰ γαῖαν καλύπτει
Ἱπποστράτης· καὶ νῦν ποθεῖ σε.
καὶ ζῶσάν σ' ἐφίλουν, τίτθη, καὶ νῦν σ' ἔτι τιμῶ
οὐσαν καὶ κατὰ γῆς, καὶ τιμήσω σε ἄχρι ἂν ζῶ·
οἶδα δὲ σοι ὅτι καὶ κατὰ γῆς, εἴπερ χρηστοῖς γέρας ἐστίν,
πρώτῃ σοι τιμαί, τίτθη, παρὰ Φερσεφώνει
Πλούτονί τε κείται.²⁸⁹

This inscription bears witness to the virtues of the nurse and the fond relations which must have existed between her and her master, for having loved her during life, he yearns for her when she is no more, and promises to honor her as long as he lives, thus uniting with those great honors which must necessarily be paid her in Hades, if there be there any honor paid the good.

²⁸⁹ C. I. A., ii, 2729. Cf. Conze, 340, Taf. lxxxiv.

The "Stele" of Malicha of Cytherea, the Spartan nurse of the children of Diogeitus, is engraved with an inscription bearing witness to her goodness:

Ἐνθάδε γῇ κατέχει τίτθην παιδῶν
Διογείτου ἐκ Πελοποννήσου τήνδε δικαιοσάτην
Μαλίχα Κυθηρία.²⁹⁰

The epithet *χρηστή* so often seen on the monuments finds place on those of nurses. Thus the combination *τίτθην χρηστήν*,²⁹¹ to which is sometimes added the name of the nurse, occurs: *Παίδευσις τίτθην χρηστήν*,²⁹² *Πυρρίχη τροφὸς χρηστήν*.²⁹³ Sometimes the name of the nurse and the word *τίτθην* are found, as *Δημητρία τίτθην*,²⁹⁴ *Χοιρίνη τίτθην*,²⁹⁵ *Φιλύρα τίτθην*,²⁹⁶ and there are instances where the simple word *τίτθην* or *τείτθην* occurs.²⁹⁷ Then too, the name of the nurse's country is sometimes mentioned in the inscription: *Φάνιον Κορινθία τίτθην*²⁹⁸ and also that of her nursling: *Ῥωξάνη Ζωπύρου Ἀλειέως τίτθην*.²⁹⁹ *Βιόττη Λύσωνος Ἀμαξαντέως τροφός*.³⁰⁰ In these inscriptions *τροφός* is less frequently used for "nurse" than *τίτθην*.

Besides the monuments erected especially to nurses, we often find the nurse shown on the grave-relief of a mother in the act of handing the child to her for the last farewell,³⁰¹ or holding in her arms a young child enveloped in swaddling clothes.³⁰² The representation of the nurse in this connection is quite in keeping with her relations towards the family during the sad hours which preceded the burial. While the immediate members of the family were considered as the chief mourners, they did not look upon it as a condescension to allow the sympathetic heart of the nurse to unite its share of grief with theirs.³⁰³

In addition to the sepulchral inscriptions mentioned above,

²⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, ii, 3111.

²⁹² *Ibid.*, ii, 5050.

²⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, ii, 3599.

²⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, iii, 1458.

²⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, ii, 4195; iii., 3384; Kabbadia, 1027.

²⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, ii, 3097. Cf. also ii, 3111.

³⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, iv, 3553b.

³⁰² *Ibid.*, 276, 294, 306, 310, 380, 461, 471, 1143, etc.

³⁰³ Cf. Baumcister, *Denkmäler*, 1885-8, p. 238, Taf. 23.

²⁹¹ *Ibid.*, ii, 4196, 4197.

²⁹³ *Ibid.*, ii, 4109.

²⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, iv, 4284b.

²⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, iii, 1457.

³⁰¹ Conze, 280, Taf. lrv.

we have literary evidence of the existence of other monuments in honor of nurses. Theocritus furnishes the following:

ὁ μικρός τόδ' ἔτευξε τῇ Θραιΐσσι,
Μήδειος τὸ μῆν' ἐπὶ τῇ ὁδῷ κητέγραψε Κλείτας
ἔξει τὰν χάριν ἃ γυνὰ ἀντὶ τήνων
ὦν τὸν κοῦρον ἔθρεψε. τί μάν; ἔτι χρησίμα καλεῖται.³⁰⁴

The use of *χρησίμα* in the last line is in accordance with the custom referred to before.³⁰⁴

Less complimentary to the nurse is the following selection from the Anthology, ascribed to Dioscuridus:

Τὴν τίτθην Ἰέρων Σεληνίδα, τὴν, ὅτι πῖνοι
Ζωρὸν, ὑπ' οὐδεμῆς θλιβουμένην κύλικος,
'Αγρῶν ἐντὸς ἔθηκεν, ὧ' ἡ φιλάκρητος ἐκέλευ
Καὶ φθιμένη, ληνῶν γείτονα τύμβον ἔχη.³⁰⁵

The unfortunate weakness of this nurse was made a subject of jest with the comic poets.³⁰⁷

But more in keeping with the true character of the nurse is Callimachus' epigram, wherein he commemorates the goodness of the Phrygian nurse Aeschra, to whose memory her master set up her statue in token of gratitude for her nurture:

Τὴν Φρυγίην Ἀίσχρην, ἀγαθὸν γάλα, πᾶσιν ἐν ἐσθλοῖς
Μίκκος καὶ ζῶν οὖσαν ἐγηροκόμει,
Καὶ φθιμένην ἀνέθηκεν, ἐπ' ἐσσομένοισιν ὀρᾶσθαι,
'Ἢ γρῆς μαστῶν ὡς ἀπέχει χάριτας.³⁰⁸

Thus from the study of the inscriptions, as well as from the literature, we learn that the Greeks had for those devoted women who stood to them in place of mother, a tender attachment which often continued all through life; and even after the nurse's death they sought to give some expression to it by writing epitaphs and erecting monuments to their memory.

³⁰⁴ Epigram xx. Cf. also Plut., Thes., 20: καὶ τροφὸν μετ' αὐτῆς ὄνομα Κορυμένην ἥς δεῖκνυσθαι τάφον.

³⁰⁵ Cf. p. 63.

³⁰⁶ Anthologia Pal., 456.

³⁰⁷ Cf. Menander, Samia, 90, Capps' note. Cf. Terence, Andria 229.

³⁰⁸ Callimachus, Epigram 54.

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VITA

The writer of this dissertation, Sister Mary Rosaria Gorman, was born in Antigonish, Nova Scotia, June 21, 1880. She received her early education in the Public Schools of that Province, and was graduated from St. Patrick's Girls' High School, Halifax, N. S., in 1897. In 1912 she obtained a Head Master's License to teach in the Nova Scotia schools. From 1902 to 1910, she was Assistant Teacher in St. Patrick's Girls' High School, Halifax. In 1907, she matriculated at the University of London. From 1910 to 1913, she taught in the Academy of Mount Saint Vincent, Halifax.

The years 1913-1914, 1914-1915, 1915-1916 have been spent in residence at the Catholic Sisters College, Catholic University of America. The degree Bachelor of Arts was received in 1914, that of Master of Arts in 1915. In her graduate work, the principal courses followed have been those under J. B. O'Connor, Ph.D. and Reverend F. J. Coeln, Ph.D., to both of whom it is the writer's pleasure and honor to return thanks, but especially to Dr. J. B. O'Connor for his valuable assistance and kind encouragement in the preparation of this dissertation.

